

Question: Which alderman is that?

BOBBY LEE: Well, alderman of the Party III Ward in Chicago. But see, it's all over the country and wherever they have Black Panthers breakfast children program, wherever they have the Young Patriots program, it don't make no difference where the alderman is, the mayor still looks like an ass, or the governor looks like an ass, see? That's why the political machine is coming down on us. Because we heighten the contradictions. See, we heighten the contradictions for these governors, mayors, congressmen, and senators who learn about what I can do for you.

Question: But how is this going to implement (next few words unintelligible) your overall revolution?

BOBBY LEE: Okay, now, now, overall revolution. Once you, once you heighten the contradictions about the system, you know what I mean, about a capitalistic system, which is a blood sucker, you know what I mean. Well once you heighten the contradiction then naturally the people are going to want to move politically. They're not going to want to go the way they've gone down for the last 400 years or maybe as long as there has been oppression of whites in this country, oppression of blacks in this country. They're going to move toward a political level. And they themselves, see people think, see they themselves are going to be the ones who're going to create, you know, some sort of sign. You know, some sort of politics themselves. No, which will be an alternative to that which is oppressing them, see. And right now the only alternative of capitalism is socialism. And that's what your breakfast for children program will, your free breakfast for children programs are. That's what your food-buying clubs are.

Question: Are you embracing either one?

BOBBY LEE? Say what?

Question: Are you embracing either one, I mean . . .

BOBBY LEE: We embrace Socialism.

Question: How far?

BOBBY LEE: We read all the thoughts of MARX, LENIN, INGOLS (phonetic) MAO, CHE, CASTRO, _____ (unintelligible), anything ever written about socialism, we read it. But let me make you understand something now. See, in a ghetto or in Appalachia, honey, in the hills of Kentucky or the hills of Tennessee, the people who live in an oppressive environment or who live in a ghetto, have always lived in some form of primitive socialism, see. They've always lived in some form, or they've always been some kind of primitive Communists. In order to survive they've had to.

Question: When you can't survive by yourself, you get together with two or three other people and share what you've got instead of . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well this is the only way we've survived in the last two months traveling.

Question: I have one other question then. How do you know that this embracing socialism won't turn into, say, the Russian form of Communism?

BOBBY LEE: Well see, well see, this is something that most white people ask this thing. Well how do you know? This is something that you don't know, see. But this is the thing, what happened to Lenin and what happened to Russia, that Russia didn't have a continuous revolution. It stopped, see. This is the thing that is beautiful about China. They're having a continual revolution. Cuba is having a continual revolution, see? And this is something that we must see, by other people's mistakes. You must have a continuous revolution. This is what happened to this country. That the educational institutions should have had a continuous revolution. The churches should. They haven't. And this is the way you make sure they don't.

Question: Well, if it continues, what does it continue to?

BOBBY LEE: What do you mean, will it continue?

Question: After revolution continues past the Russian Communist stage, what does it continue to, another form of Utopia or what?

BOBBY LEE: There ain't no such thing as Utopian socialistic state. No, let's make that clear now. No, you're going to always have struggles, Jack. I would much rather live in a country that's going through all kind of struggles to make the country great. That's what's wrong with this country. There's no struggles here except a struggle for a few punks to get some money.

Question: I read somewhere that some government organization in California was starting a breakfast program for the school children, identical as a matter of fact to what the Panthers are doing.

BOBBY LEE: Right.

Question: Now, I don't know much about the economic level, but it seems that the government could use the money as a form of counter-insurgency to establish its own breakfast programs and its own free health clinics. Do you see this as a threat, and if the government does move ahead of you . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well, we wish like hell they would move and feed some of these kids around here, and open clinics. You know what I mean, but hell, they got the best medical system in this country right now and people ain't meeting their needs. It is just like they got the best money, you're talking about money, you know what I mean, we wish like hell they would hurry up and do it. But they're not.

Question: But if they do that, wouldn't that delay the revolution?

BOBBY LEE: They ain't going to do it.

Question: Well . . .

BOBBY LEE: That's just like annual income, you know.

Question: Look I mean, when they really get hard pressed they might have to be . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, when they get hard pressed, Jack, they're going to a Fascist system.

Question: When they get hard pressed . . .

BOBBY LEE: When they get hard pressed, they ain't going in no socialism, Jack. They're going to do what MUSSOLINI did.

Question: Well, they've been giving you all these . . .

Question: Wait a minute, man, you've seen pressure situations in this country. You've seen _____ (unintelligible) and you've seen Chicago and you have seen Washington, D. C. and Charlotte and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. You have seen Atlanta, Georgia. You know what they do when they get really hard-pressed. When they get really hard pressed, they say Hey, man, they're going to take our power away from us and they (next few words unintelligible) . . . have seen them give medicare and . . .

Question: Do you realize when medicare was instituted in the German states, medicare was effective or instituted in Germany in 1860. We're only a century behind time. Look, as far as these contradictions are concerned, we're better than a century behind. They've got a lie attached on to this, this is shit here. What they're giving the people is shit.

Question: I realize it's shit, but all you got to do is remind the people (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well you know they're not going to give it. That's like the poor people's march, man, that's for annual income. Man, you know, if they give people for annual income, you know what kind of country this would be? We'd have won already.

Question: That's a bunch of shit what they're giving . . .

BOBBY LEE: That's right. And we know this, man.

Question: And it's hard to convince people.

BOBBY LEE: But see, this is the thing about heightening the contradiction. That's just like man, decentralization of the police, man, community control of the police. You know fucking

well, man, that when we meet these policemen, you know, when we meet them on this campus, get up here and make so many commitments. But see, we can't worry about commandism. You know, MAO talked about commandism. We can't practice. We have to sit down and relate this thing, observation and participation, man. And let the people see for themselves. That's how to heighten contradictions. You set up these programs, man, and let them see. Some may not see it and some will. But you just can't do it, man. If you do that's not being honest. You have to deal democratically. Work with the people and heighten contradictions with them. Let them see it. And you know fucking well that this country ain't going to give nobody nothing, nothing.

Question: Yeah, but they're going to try to make it look like they are giving them something.

BOBBY LEE: Oh, yeah. But that's just like Chicago, man, like some of the cities, man, where people have been demonstrating about taking shotguns off the front of the dashboard. Well, what they've done they've taken the shotguns off the dashboard and put them in the trunk. And see the people don't see them any more and they say we've won the victory. But the shotguns are in the trunk now.

Question: How do you emphasize the fact that they are still in the trunk and people can't see them?

BOBBY LEE: Well, when the people talk about putting the trunks on, when people talk about taking them off, we'll pose that, we'll pose that. You know, and see, let them know it's in the trunk.

Question: People are going to know anyway.

BOBBY LEE: The people know it anyway. I mean it's still, man, still man, the people are going to know it, man. They're going to know it. Because them fools are going to get silly one day and get reactionary. The people will know it. They might go along three weeks without those shotguns out, but once something happens, man, just like it happened in Chicago on

53rd and Laurel (phonetic), all of them cats went to their trunks, Jack, and pulled out them .12 gauge Remington shotguns, vicious .12 gauge Remington shotguns.

Question: You know, the problems of blacks in this country are for the most part the problems of colonized people, right?

BOBBY LEE: Right.

Question: And given this _____ (unintelligible) that LENIN said, TROTSKY, MAO, and _____ (unintelligible), especially that incited liberation, national liberation, how can they build socialism within the United States (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Well see, we are not just talking about . . .

Question: Well that's in a strong nationalistic sense . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well see, like, yeah, we have already come to that stage of nationalism already.

Question: But the masses of the people haven't . . .

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but the masses of the, right, but the masses of the people haven't man. See, well see, but now we're at a stage, we got a revolutionary culture now. See, because if there is a large portion gone through this nationalistic stage, man, and I think I tend to disagree with you. That's a very rare dude you don't see the Afro on now. You know what I mean, all over the country. Well see now.

Question: But that's not nationalism.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well okay, yeah. But see now, you know, like you know, all your culture now has got to be a revolutionary culture now, and cut that other shit out. You know what I mean. Like JOHN COLTRAIN (phonetic), see, sang, and you see where he went. Yeah the music has changed. You see where JAMES BROWN is singing now. You know, revolutionary culture. Art and all this shit. And that way you're catching up with all the people that's been left out, man. I mean with the mass of the people left out. You hear then in their culture man, I mean like . . .

Question: Yeah, but like the masses of the people haven't got their psyches (phonetic) together yet.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well okay. But see, you can go right back . . .

Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: But it goes right back, it goes right back to heightening the contradictions, man, it goes right back to that. But you got to have patience, you got to have patience with these people, man. White people, black people, brown people. And that goes right back to heightening the contradictions at all times, speak out at all times. And it goes right back to that Jack, it goes right back to that, man, heightening of contradictions. About the civil rights thing.

Question: Have you received any reaction from the people you named last night as being so-called Panthers in Greensboro and Charlotte?

BOBBY LEE: No, we talked with the reporters in Charlotte today and their names will be on the press tomorrow.

Question: I'm writing for a Charlotte newspaper. I've noticed that the Panthers, this group of people in Charlotte wanting a Panther charter, were refused.

BOBBY LEE: Say what?

Question: But I knew the people in Charlotte wanting a Panther charter were refused the charter. Why?

BOBBY LEE: Well, see number one they started off wrong. See, when they wanted a charter they had went to far with their shit already. You know what I mean. I mean, I mean, like the thing they were doing in Charlotte. They were Panthers before they wanted one. They were an organization before they wanted one. See, and that was wrong. And they have made so many mistakes with their, so many mistakes before they even called and wanted one, that they couldn't get one in Charlotte, now. They won't get one in Charlotte now, if they, you know. And I've got the names of all of them. See, and this come from national.

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Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: All right, August 16, 1969, they have a shoot-out at the Chick-N-Ribs Restaurant. All right, they been shooting among black people there, extortion, having rallies.

Question: All in the name of the Black Panthers?

BOBBY LEE: All in the name of the Black Panther Party. They don't have no breakfast for children program there. They don't have no free health clinic program there. No food-buying club program there. They're not fighting racism there. They don't have no coalition with working class whites there, and they're not trying to have a coalition with working class whites. So they're a bunch of bandits.

Question: Sort of like KKK . . .

BOBBY LEE: Man, look here, no, look here. At least KKK don't be shooting at their own people.

Question: (Unintelligible).

Question: In Greensboro, North Carolina, GEORGE DORSETT, United Klans of America, found a couple of friends of mine, a boy and girl, black and white, together, and they were like . . .

BOBBY LEE: Okay, okay, but I just made a statement. Let's get back to that. The mother-fuckers, we won't go through that. But what I'm saying is that they're not Panthers, there is no Panther charter in North Carolina or South Carolina. The only Panther charter in the South Branch is in Houston, Texas, see? And these niggers names is GROVER BENNETT, BENJAMIN HAIRSTON, BEN CHAVIS, JOHN COVINGTON, ROCHESTER WALL, VERONICA HUGGINS, BENITA COLBERT, JEAN GATOR, JACK DIXON, LEONARD SMITH, JAMES BLACK, JAMES CROWDER, BEN COVINGTON. In Winston-Salem there is no chapter or branch there, and in Greensboro, North Carolina there is none there. And in August 16, 1969, in a shoot-out at Chick-N-Ribs restaurant unnecessary, and see this will cause Panthers to be killed nationwide, man, niggers to be called renegades, bandits, dudes on eagle trips, don't know what Panthers, don't know we're a political

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organization. Racists when we're not racist. Shooting at black people when we don't even shoot at nobody. So if that means, if ELDRIDGE CLEAVER would go to Charlotte, North Carolina now, the people up there are so up-tight they might kill him.

Question: Well BEN CHAVIS, what is he? I've heard of him before.

BOBBY LEE: He goes to school up there.

Question: (Unintelligible).

Question: What are you going to do to control this? They're still wearing the Black Panther uniforms.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well see, but see, this is the thing. Now, we wanted to be here for a while. See, see, believe in this. And the thing about heightening the contradiction by having press statement, you are the people got to have guts enough to control it.

Question: Are you going to Charlotte?

BOBBY LEE: We're not going to Charlotte now. We're here. Let them simple fools get down. And I'll tell you something, see, the thing about this, see, these cats, 75 chapters in this country know these cats. The paper came out this week nationwide, with every one of these dudes' names in it, nationwide.

Question: What have you got, a black list or something?

BOBBY LEE: Hell, yeah, they're blacklisted. If they ain't blacklisted, I don't . . .

Question: What does that mean?

BOBBY LEE: I mean they're not Panthers. That's what, what does blacklist mean? They're not Panthers, they're not Panthers, period. Period, they're not Panthers.

Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: And some of them will ask you for \$10 in Charlotte, North Carolina, saying he's a Panther and he is trying to get a breakfast for children program, you tell him he's a damn liar. This is like the same shit happened in Washington, D. C. Six weeks ago four Panthers, we don't know where they're from, four so-called Panthers collected \$3,000, man, talking about you're going to open a Black Panther Party in Washington, D. C. and we don't even have a branch there. They went to a _____ (unintelligible) law firm in Georgetown in Washington, D. C., had their people collecting \$3,000, man, and here we are, trying like hell to feed these kids every morning, going to jail every day, getting killed, you know what I mean, going in exile, and here's some motherfuckers man, going around here collecting \$3,000. If I go to jail today, man, I ain't got no bail bond to get out. We don't know how in the hell we're going to get out from this trip down South when we're finished. And you can imagine the money they've collected in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Question: I think they've got a kindergarten set up there and I think they called them Panther Cubs.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah and see, with no politics, could you imagine being racist, having shoot-outs with black people and white people, can you imagine how they are fucking all them kids?

Question: (First part unintelligible). I want to know how can we help fight the contradictions as far as black people are concerned. SDS for example in one point (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Well see, that is SDS job to see that, man.

Question: (Unintelligible.)

BOBBY LEE: Lester? Well see LESTER made a statement. Yeah, right. Well see, LESTER made a damn statement that was entirely revolutionary, Jack. Now you read, did you read the statement first? I mean the first statement that he made about the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots and all power to the people? Did you read that?

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: See, LESTER undoubtedly doesn't know what all power to the people means.

Question: Yeah, well I think the man's main purpose was about the slogan . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Well the slogan is a very important thing, man. Slogans are a very important thing to the people, to propagandize the people, man. You know what I mean. That's just like MALCOLM X. All y'all go around here talking about by any means necessary. That was MALCOLM's words, you know, the slogan means a lot, man.

Question: Yeah, the point that I see, though, is not so much LESTER's argument, because he found a lot wrong with . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Right, and you'd find something wrong with ours too, man.

Question: (First part unintelligible) counter-revolutionary, but the point is, do white youths have the right to tell this man that he doesn't have the right as . . .

BOBBY LEE: They have the right. They have the right. They have the right. They have, if everybody has the right to disagree with somebody, man. And that was political, that was very political. Look here, man, so what, that's what's wrong now. See, now you're making a racist statement. Yes you are, yes you are, man. You know, because see, if LESTER makes a statement against an organization if it's white and this organization analyzes it politically and feel nothing is wrong, it's their right to do it. And I'm sure LESTER is an open dude, Jack, and he _____ (unintelligible). If he didn't he is just like you. But I think everybody, like we have a right, like FL, Progressive Labor Party, all right, who criticized FL? The Black Panther Party did. That's right. Who caused the split? The Black Panther Party, see? All right, SDS. I mean, you got to, I mean, see, this is the thing, man, if people aren't above to take criticism.

Question: Yes, but black circumstances and white circumstances right now are very much different and have been for the last 300 years.

BOBBY LEE: No, man, no. See, that's what's wrong now, man. That's what's wrong, man. That's what's wrong. Politically, when you give a political criticism, man, it's good. I mean, good or bad it is right, man.

Question: Which is the point that I'm making. That LESTER as a radical brother had the right to make a criticism . . .

BOBBY LEE: Okay, I didn't rebuke that, but I said they also have, this group if they criticized . . .

Question: But they don't have the right to tell him that he doesn't have the right to criticize.

BOBBY LEE: No, man no. No. They didn't say that. They didn't say that. They just came down and LESTER gave a criticism of all power to the people.

Question: (Unintelligible) . . . to criticize the Black Panther Party, that he criticizes the vanguard party and . . .

BOBBY LEE: All revolutionary organizations . . .

Question: And all over the world.

BOBBY LEE: But he criticized all power to the people, that's what LESTER, he criticized that connotation. And that's the word that is used all over the world, man, as far as socialism is concerned, that's the word that's used in Cuba, that's the word that's used in, right. And so what it said, LESTER is criticizing people. Because all your revolutions all over the country, man, like half the world right now have been liberated through the Marx or Leninist theory. See, and Socialism is all power to the people when you say that. And so when LESTER came down, see like, don't get me wrong, man, LESTER has been rolling some beautiful shit. He's got some brothers together. You know what I mean. But LESTER made that statement. Now I don't know if LESTER meant

it like that, and I hope he writes back and clarifies, I mean everybody is hoping he will write back and clarify it. You know what I mean. But see, like the Young Patriot organization wrote that letter back. And we _____ (unintelligible) because we can't understand where in the hell, because BOBBY SILL, BOBBY SILL (phonetic) went to jail, I mean BOBBY SILL trying to build, BOBBY SILL trying to figure out where in the hell he's coming. (next few words unintelligible). But it happened that the Patriots wrote this thing in and he wrote on behalf of all of them. And I hope like hell that they clarify that, because when you cut off all power to the people, then you cut Socialism down. You cut _____ (unintelligible).

Question: But the thing I'm saying is, that what to be done is given criticism (next few words unintelligible), is whether black groups and white groups have the right to appoint vanguard bodies in the black community.

BOBBY LEE: But no, no . . .

BILL FESPERMAN: Wait, let me deal with this. How in the hell can Young Patriots appoint the Black Panther Party the vanguard? We never done that. We never done that.

Question: SDS, Yeah, right.

BILL FESPERMAN: SDS didn't appoint the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party established itself as the vanguard. We established ourselves as the vanguard in the white community. Now, MADDOX, I almost said LESTER MADDOX.

Question: Suppose that for example RON CUERIGA (phonetic) doesn't make it, that the Panthers are vanguard of . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well who is RON CUERIGA, though?

Question: He's shit as far as I'm concerned.

BOBBY LEE: Okay, okay.

Question: But he is a Black Panther and his brother is working in a black community.

BOBBY LEE: What is he doing, but what is he doing, though?

Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see, as long as, the thing about it is that RON CUERICA (phonetic) ain't talking about no revolution, man. He ain't said nothing about that.

Question: He's been talking about shit, but that's not the issue, though, white folks . . .

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see, who is LESTER? But see, the thing about it when you talk about vanguard parties, man, white vanguard parties, brown vanguard parties, red or yellow vanguard parties, man, you are using the Marxist theory as a guideline, which LESTER (unintelligible). So God damn, we're all of us on the same guideline. Anyone of you could have criticized us. Anyone of us could have . . .

BILL ELSENMAN: JULIUS LESTER, JULIUS LESTER, has said that, has said that you know, a white can't be a revolutionary and JESSIE JACKSON has said there is no white leadership, and what JESSIE JACKSON is saying there is no white leadership like JESSIE JACKSON. And that's bullshit.

Question: But I'm not saying, his mama was a prayer book and in the second place, you know, JESSIE JACKSON was a preacher. So the man's gotta have some problems right there. But that's not the issue. See, the issue is the relationship between black radical groups on the one hand and white radical groups on the other hand, and the implication that this has regarding the racial.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see, you still missing the point. See, you're talking about radical, and white radicals, and Patriots are not no radicals. They're revolutionaries, man. And then you got to understand also man, that all of those are revolutionaries and got revolutionary men, and damn JULIUS LESTER ain't shit, that nobody can't criticize him, white, black, and brown or red. And so you like talking about black liberation, we're talking about black liberation, but at the same time we're talking about

coalition of other oppressed people, see? So therefore, when LESTER made his statement about all power to the people that he don't dig words, now what he did _____ (unintelligible). The only revolutionary organization in this country, you know, he didn't cut the revolutionary organization of CASTRO in Cuba, in South America, or even in Africa. Even in Africa, the same thing, that they'll see. So, see, he ain't that dam great that he can't be criticized. You know what I mean.

Question: I don't mean the man can't be criticized. See, the whole thing I'm saying, see, what I'm trying to raise questions about is the relationship between black revolutionary groups and white revolutionary groups and the implications that kind of relationship that they have will _____ (unintelligible) for black liberation.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see . . .

Question: (Unintelligible) The national groups, and the hang-up that you and I know that black people have anyway.

BOBBY LEE: Right. Well still, you're still missing the point, man. When all other revolutionary . . . wait, wait, wait. I'm trying to say that when all revolutionary organizations, including the Panthers, the Patriots, _____ (unintelligible), Young Lords, when they are following one guideline, man, the Marxist-Leninist theory, that's all the guideline, and then when they're heightening the contradiction in their communities, and we're heightening the contradiction as far as black liberation is concerned, white liberation, brown liberation, then man, they're even collectively, see what I mean, _____ (unintelligible) to criticize a cat like LESTER.

Question: Yeah, but at the same time, like LEONARD HESS _____ (unintelligible) in the Russian situation, MAO has walked out in China . . .

BOBBY LEE: And we got to make _____ (unintelligible) here, and let's come on back here.

Question: Is the same thing that we've got here. Given, you know, that racism is a much more important factor here than in any place else in the world. What are we going to do with this?

BOBBY LEE: Well that's the core, that's the core of the thing here. That we got to fight a whole front. See, the thing, you run all these things down, but see in Cuba, man, it was the peasants, man, against the bourgeoisie, man. China, peasants against the bourgeoisie. Africa black and white. See what I mean? Here, you got all kinds of nationalities and groups besides black groups that are oppressed in this country. Ain't no way in the world no bunch of niggers is going to go run off a revolution because you ain't got no niggers ready, you know.

Question: I tell you, you got to get the brothers ready at the same time, the Puerto Ricah cats . . .

BOBBY LEE: That's what it's all about. All right.

Question: Get the Mexican brothers ready at the same time the white brothers are getting the poor whites together and the white working class together.

BOBBY LEE: All right, see this is what we mean by . . .

Question: Revolutionary power, yeah. But should we come together before a revolution?

BOBBY LEE: Look here man, that's why you got a Black Panther Party in the black community. That's why you got the Young Patriots in white oppressed communities, uptown Chicago.

(Space in tape, unintelligible)

BOBBY LEE: But everybody got the same guidelines. The first basic guideline is fighting racism. And the second basic, along with the first guideline of fighting racism, is meeting that basic need. But when you're on the same ideology, man, you don't have to be living in the same community. See what I mean? It is already naturally together. You know what I mean, it's already naturally together.

(The following comments were made by GEORGE DOYLE, WCHL News.)

GEORGE DOYLE (phonetic), WCHL News, speaking to a fairly packed house tonight, BOBBY LEE and BILL FESPERMAN, members of the Black Panther organization and the Young Patriots from Chicago, Illinois are now leaving the hall. They showed three movies tonight about the Black Panthers and their work with the Young Patriots organization, and they each talked for about 20 minutes and spent 30 minutes for questions and answers with those in the audience. The Young Patriots organization, which was represented by BILL FESPERMAN, who was their field secretary, is a political organization of working youth in the uptown area in Chicago. They are in coalition with the Black Panther Party of which BOBBY LEE is the field secretary in the Illinois Chapter. And they're also allied with the Young Lords organization, the Latin Eagles, and the Lincoln Park Patriots. They were forced to cut short tonight as the Carolina Union closed at 11:00 p.m. and some thought that they might go over to a classroom building on the campus.

It was a long evening and much was discussed, and many went away feeling differently about today's society. But the main question in everybody's mind is what is going to happen to racism? Who are the Black Panthers? What are they trying to do? What are their real goals? And what are the goals of the racists that they so condemn? Many people walked away confused. GEORGE DOYLE, WCHL News, from the UNC campus.

(The following speech was made by CARL DAVIDSON on September 22, 1969, on the subject "Vietnam Will Win." CARL DAVIDSON is a former national officer of the SDS, currently with the "Guardian.")

Can you hear me speaking like this, sitting down? Okay, good. First off, I'll tell you a little bit about the nature of the meeting. And hopefully I won't speak too long so we can spend a lot of time with questions.

Early in July thirty young Americans, mostly SDS, received an invitation from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the North Vietnamese to attend a meeting in Havana, Cuba. This wasn't the first time that representatives of _____ (unintelligible) organizations have met with the Vietnamese people, but the nature of this meeting was a little bit different. First was the makeup of the American delegation. Unlike previous delegations that have met with the Vietnamese, this delegation was pretty much politically homogeneous in the sense that it represented the, more or less, the hard core of the New Left, rather than having a broad representation of everything from liberal to radical groups. The other thing, and this composition of the American delegation was at the request of the Vietnamese.

The other thing that was different was that it was the longest and most intensive meeting that the Vietnamese have had with Americans. It lasted a total of eight days. It was held in a very secluded spot outside Havana, where we didn't come into much contact with Cubans but mainly just sat morning, noon, and night in discussions, workshops, panels, speeches, both from the Vietnamese and from the American delegation.

The main thing I want to talk about is the message that the Vietnamese presented to us. And how they outlined the current situation in Vietnamese liberation struggle. They started by giving you a history of the military and political struggle in Vietnam, how it's developed up to the present point, where the U. S., as they put it, has been defeated politically and militarily in Vietnam.

As they see it, the war has gone through three different periods. The first period of the war which started, actually started picking up in around 1960 up until 1965, is the period what they call special war. This is where the U. S. followed pretty much the strategy of using Green Beret kind of advisors and tried to rely upon the puppet army in Saigon as the main force of fighting against the Vietnamese. In 1965 the Vietnamese said they had defeated this strategy and if you remember at that time what had happened, JOHNSON had ordered the massive escalation of American presence in Vietnam, and had started the bombing of North Vietnam.

The Vietnamese saw the fact the U. S. had to do this as a sign of victory on their part because that it meant that all the U. S. theories of counterinsurgency (phonetic) and special warfare had come to naught, that they were not able to organize a sufficient base for the Saigon machine, that they had not been able to win the minds and hearts of the people to fight, to fight for the U. S., and as a result had to rely upon the massive escalation, sending one-half million U. S. troops.

The second period of the war that began at that time is what they call, well they divide it into two parts. In South Vietnam they call it the strategy, the U. S. was following the strategy of limited war. And in the North they called the war destruction, destruction against North Vietnam, mainly an air war. With the stopping of the bombing and with the beginning of the tet offensive (phonetic), the Vietnamese felt that both of these strategies of the U. S. had been defeated. But the U. S., around the time WESTMORELAND was kicked out of Vietnam, kicked upstairs, that the U. S. in the first period and that limited war, followed the strategy of search and destroy missions.

And a later period in limited war that they had followed a strategy that they called clear and hold. The U. S. is no longer able to carry out search and destroy and clear and hold operations. And they saw that as defeat of limited war.

In terms of the war of destruction against North Vietnam, the Vietnamese people convincingly argued that the U. S. thought this bombing of North Vietnam, not out of any moral sensibilities, but mainly because the error of destruction was defeated in the North by organizing people's war against it, mainly, that the massive anti-aircraft activities, from women in the rice paddies shooting at planes with rifles to the Soviet SAM missiles, had caused such a toll in terms of the number of U. S. aircraft shot down, it caused such economic strain on the U. S. in terms of what it was supposed to achieve, namely to stop the North from supplying material support to the South, that they were able to continue to give material aid to the South and they were not able to break the resistance of the North Vietnamese people. In fact, the resistance of the North Vietnamese people increased and they were not able to disrupt the economy of North Vietnam. In fact, the economy of North Vietnam increased its output throughout that period.

So they say that as mainly, that the Vietnamese people themselves played a decisive role in defeating the war of destruction in the North, although they do so that almost as important was the international public opinion calling for the stopping of the bombing in North Vietnam.

All of you probably know about the tetoffensive (phonetic). The tetoffensive marks the period the Vietnamese see as the final bankruptcy of the strategy of limited warfare. That with all of its military might, sophisticated technology, that the U. S. was not even able to find out ahead of time about the spontaneous uprisings in 140-some cities all across South Vietnam, let alone to do anything about it. The Pentagon likes to make the claim that the tetoffensive was primarily a psychological victory and that it didn't really have that much political fruit. But the way the Vietnamese see what came out of the tetoffensive in terms of political goals was the formation this spring of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which is made up mainly of two forces, the National Liberation Front and the Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces. The latter coalition of organizations developed mainly as a result of the tetoffensive in the cities and represents elements within the cities that have

previously been neutral or wavering, but as a result of the tet offensive had politically been won over to the struggle of the National Liberation Front. And to get in an even broader united front than the Vietnamese had ever had in the past, they formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Now I think that it's important to understand that the Provisional Revolutionary Government that is formed is no mere paper organization or just the NLF under another name. At this time four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam and 11 million of the 14 million people in South Vietnam live in areas administered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Now when I say administered, you have to understand that the Provisional Revolutionary Government is not just a body of political representatives, but a full civil and political administration. They have schools, they run schools, health services, post offices, develop agricultural reforms, and agricultural programs, agricultural activities, everything that a revolutionary government can be involved in.

It has in every village in the liberated areas elected local revolutionary committees that are chosen by the people in those villages by direct elections. In some of the contested areas they have Provisional Revolutionary Committees, but in the contested areas they're not elected but rather appointed until such time as those areas are secured and brought into the liberated zones when the representatives in those areas will then be elected.

At this point the U. S. military strategy in Vietnam or the position of the U. S. military in Vietnam is one of completely, completely defensive position. The U. S. forces are mainly concentrated in large cities or around large military bases, and are unable to move throughout the countryside. It's sort of what used to be called Gavin's _____ (unintelligible) Theory, only the U. S. didn't adopt it by a matter of free choice but were more or less pushed into it. Even in these completely defensive positions the U. S. bases are constantly under attack and assault from the People's Liberation Armed Forces. For instance, just one indication, 40 per cent of the U. S. military forces in Vietnam right now are dedicated totally just to the defense of the perimeter

around Saigon, that they're just completely tied up doing that, protecting their own supply lines, trying to just mainly try to keep their bases from being overrun.

At present the only kind of offensive, if you can call them that, offensive operations that the U. S. military is able to pull off in Vietnam are of two sorts. Both of them are very cynical, I think, in terms of the human cost of the war. The one tactic that is the use of _____ (unintelligible) troops in Vietnam that has supposedly replaced search and destroy and clear and hold, is a tactic that the U. S. calls interception from afar. And basically the way the Vietnamese explained this to us is what the U. S. does is take a bunch of GI's in a helicopter and fly them out into somewhere in the liberated areas and drop them, and then they'll sort of have observation planes which watches which direction they get wiped out from. And then at that point they use that to decide where to send the B-52's to bomb. In other words, they're using GI's as decoys. And that's basically what they, they way the People's Liberation Armed Forces see that tactic.

One of the people who we spoke to was a Regional Commander of the People's Liberation Armed Forces near, in a region near Quay, in South Vietnam. And he ran down for us in a very systematic way a lot of the different bankrupt strategies of the U. S. military.

We also spoke to representatives from women's organizations, representatives of national minorities, or working youth, official representatives of both the DRV and PRG, journalists, school teachers. There was quite a wide variety of different Vietnamese.

The other tactic that the U. S. uses is what they call accelerated pacification. And essentially the way that works is that helicopter gunships or planes will come in and drop napalm on a village, people will run out of the houses to get away from the napalm, then they drop anti-personnel weapons, these pellet bombs and then come in with napalm and more bombs, until the total destruction. That's what the U. S. calls accelerated

pacification. Basically other than these two things, the main aspect of U. S. military strategy in South Vietnam at this point is the bombing. And most of the bombing is not even done from airfields in Vietnam, but rather planes are sent either from Thailand, Guam or from aircraft carriers off the shore of Vietnam. As most of you probably know, that recently the bombing of South Vietnam has been increased, that it already has taken, and the level of it has just been incredible, since more bombs have been dropped in Vietnam than everywhere and by everybody in all of World War II. We have to remember that Vietnam is only about the size of Pennsylvania or New Jersey, or one of those states, to give you an idea of the kind of concentration of the bombing.

The way the Vietnamese look at it though is very interesting. The fact that the U. S. is reduced to indiscriminate bombing what they call free strike zones, and at this point almost all of South Vietnam even including some suburbs of Saigon are in these free strike zones. That means that pilots are allowed to drop bombs on anything that moves. The way the Vietnamese look at that is when the U. S. has to use that tactic, again they see that as victory because what that means is that the U. S. is completely unable to send in ground troops because that area has been secured by the People's Liberation Armed Forces, that the Saigon army and the Saigon puppet government is unable to send in its local officials and that it is completely politically and militarily secured the area to the point that the only thing the U. S. can do is indiscriminate bombing. And when the U. S. is reduced to that tactic, the NLF uses that as indication that they've won in that particular area.

Presently, one of the things that the Vietnamese, the way they presented the current struggle and sort of summed it up at this point is that they see the war in Vietnam being fought on three fronts at this point. One front is in Vietnam itself. The second front is in Paris, that's the diplomatic front. And the third front is in the realm of international public opinion, particularly U. S. public opinion.

And feeling at this point in the struggle is that they have won victory in Vietnam, that they have totally defeated the political and military strategy of the U. S., that the Saigon Regime

is more isolated than it ever has been in the past, that it's disintegrating within itself. This is one aspect of the strategy of the negotiation. One purpose of the NLF is engaging in negotiations. Also to further the contradictions that existed within the narrow basis that did exist in the Saigon Regime, and to cause further contradictions to develop between that and so that different people in lower and middle levels of the Saigon administration would come over to the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, so that certain sections of the puppet army would come over to the NLF.

During the tetroffensive whole units would desert to the other side. Some units don't desert but they work out an agreement with the NLF where they just won't do anything, and they just sort of sit on their hands. And some of these agreements are public. Other agreements they have with people within the Saigon administration are clandestine. And this has been one of the results in their terms of the negotiations in Paris. It has caused the further disintegration and further contradictions to develop within the two-key regime.

With the presentation this spring of the NLF Ten-Point Peace Program which came out about the same time as Nixon's Eight Points, they decided that they had achieved a diplomatic victory in Paris, that their feeling that the NLF Ten-Point Program is the only just basis for solution to the war and their feeling is that they have won the acceptance of that position among almost all diplomatic circles in the world and have isolated the U. S. in that sense.

The third front, international public opinion, is what they feel is crucial at this point. It's particularly within the U. S. They say they sort of summed it up is that the position of the U. S. politically and militarily in Vietnam at this point is much worse than the French position after Dien Bien Thu (phonetic). There is nothing that the U. S. can do at this point to change the situation that Nixon's talk about Vietnamization of the war or de-Americanization of the war, of going back to special warfare, they look on as an absurdity.

And the way one of them put it, it's taking the strategy, well it was replacing the strategy that's just been defeated with one that was defeated before that, and that's what Nixon's up to at this point. And all of Nixon's talk about troop withdrawals and all the different proposals he comes out with, they see as not directed at them at all, that the main objects of all Nixon's pronouncements is mainly the U. S. public. Because they recognize them as absurdities, and have no real relation to the actual objective situation in Vietnam. It is mainly for domestic consumption designed to buy Nixon some time to try and continue the bombing of South Vietnam to hope to win back at the negotiating table what the U. S. has lost on the battlefield.

They see this as something that's completely unacceptable and hold firmly to the position that the U. S. must have the total and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops and dismantling of all military bases in Vietnam as the only just basis for solution to the war. In the past Vietnamese had always been very thankful for the support that they've received from people all over the world, particularly from the American anti-war movement in protesting U. S. aggression in Vietnam. They see this mainly as a result of the fact that their struggle was a just struggle and it deserves the support of almost all of humanity.

However, in the past, I don't think judging from other times that I've talked with Vietnamese, that they didn't see it as so important as, the U. S. anti-war movement that is, as quite as important as it could be at this point. I think that is the result of the fact that now the reason why the U. S. anti-war movement becomes important at this point is because of the fact of the NLF rising to the conclusion that they have won victory on the other two fronts, that what has to be done at this point is to convince NIXON that he has to withdraw. Their position is that NIXON has not yet made the decision to leave Vietnam and that even though they've done everything that they can to convince him in South Vietnam in terms of defeating him and in costs that's being born by GI's that he's in a completely irrational kind of position. And this has to be made clear to the American people.

Even so, let's put it this way, the Vietnamese people, even if there was no anti-war movement in the United States or anywhere else in the world, are convinced, and I'm convinced also, that they would win final victory, that they would, that Vietnam will in fact win. They are prepared to continue fighting the war five years, ten years, twenty years, thirty years, until that they've won the complete withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam. At the same time they're willing to do everything short of compromising those basic principles to ease the U. S. out of Vietnam. In fact, they put it as if the U. S. troops want red carpets and flowers strewn before them as they go to the boats, that they'll be glad to organize that for them. But they will not budge on the principle of total and immediate withdrawal.

At this point, they say that the U. S. anti-war movement can play an almost decisive role not in the sense of whether or not they will win victory but in the sense of whether the war will end in a year or at an early time, or whether the war will take longer to win. Now, and that's what it about boils down to, and that's I think at this point our responsibility not only to the Vietnamese people but to the American people as well.

That's sort of the general outline of what the Vietnamese presented. In each of these areas they went into a lot more detail but one thing that they did talk about which is very difficult to convey unless you've actually met with them and talked with them, and studied the situation in Vietnam quite thoroughly, is how a nation of 14 million people, how this small underdeveloped nation has been able to take on what is supposedly the most powerful military machine in the world and not only bring it to a grinding halt, but to actually defeat it on the battlefield. The kind of answer that they gave is people's war.

But again, I mean, to a lot of people that seems just like a slogan. And a lot of, and when the military guy was speaking to us, he had a few thoughts in his speech, that the greatest invention of the twentieth century is not nuclear weapons but people's war. The U. S. will never escape from the labyrinth and see of fighting of people's war.

And time and time again they emphasized this thing called people's war, and what's involved in it. It's hard to convey it except in a sense of understanding that it's the total organization and mobilization of all the people in Vietnam in most total and heroic kinds of resistance on all different levels, everything up from the regional People's Liberation Armed Forces and units down to finding ways for even children to participate in the struggle. Non-violent demonstrations. Women in a village when a tank will come into a village, 50 to 100 women without arms will swarm onto the tanks and sit down in front of them and try to bring them to a stop.

You know, political struggle is on many different levels. They'll organize women whose husbands or sons or brothers who have been killed within puppet army to organize demonstrations in the cities. Well let me give you one example to give you an idea of the wide ranging kinds of things that are involved in fighting a people's war. _____ (unintelligible) people's war, according to JOCK, NGUYEN JOCK (phonetic), the North Vietnamese military theorist, is fought from four different fronts, a political front, military, economic, and cultural. One of the most fascinating aspects of Vietnam.

(The following was a question and answer period following the above speech. Most of the questions were unintelligible. The answers were given by CARL DAVIDSON.)

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Yeah, we went into, we had a lot of discussion about that. The nature of the United Front and what kind of information were within it. Maybe I should go into that. The Vietnam struggle is not a struggle for a Socialist revolution. What Vietnamese are fighting at this stage is what's called a national democratic revolution. The kind of situation that exists in Vietnam, we have a colony that's predominantly feudalistic, feudal internally, and externally imperialist and colonialist, where most of the people, 90 per cent of the people, are peasants. That it's impossible to make a Socialist revolution. But what has to happen is this first stage of the National Democratic Revolution. So that means in terms of the way the struggle has been organized is that _____ (unintelligible) United Front of all social strata in all classes

in Vietnam have been, has been mobilized to form this nationalist, nationally democratic government. There are certain things about that though. There are two levels to the kind of way the Vietnamese see the United Front. The first level of unity within the front is the alliance between workers and the peasantry. And this is the basis and hard core of the front. And part of it is led by the People's Revolutionary Party, which is the Communist Party in South Vietnam.

Now the other level of unity is the broader level which includes just about everybody except a handful of puppets in Saigon. But the leading element within that is the worker-peasant alliance, you know, organized and led by the People's Revolutionary Party.

Within the National Liberation Front there are three different political parties. One is the Democratic Party, which represents mainly progressive businessmen and some landlords. Well, I should say patriotic landlords and businessmen. These are the ones that have come over to the struggle who've had their businesses or their land disrupted by U. S. presence and have been run over with for strictly economic reasons or for patriotic reasons, have come to the NLF.

The second party is what's called the Radical Socialist Party, which represents mainly the intellectuals within the cities. And the third one is People's Revolutionary Party, which represents workers, peasants, women's organizations, student organizations, the army and the progressive intellectuals as opposed to the intellectuals. And that is the leading element within the front.

Now in addition to that, is the organizations of all different religious sects that exist in Vietnam, different mass organizations, just about you know, the widest variety of everything.

Now, one aspect of how far the front is willing to go is in addition to having the National Liberation Front which is itself the united front, one thing that's been organized is the National Alliance of Democratic and Peace Forces which represents a lot of bourgeoisie elements within the cities, which want to join the liberation struggle. But for one reason or another, mainly anti-Communism or something, will not come into the National Liberation

Front so that they've formed an alliance between those two alliances essentially.

Now in addition to that, the Vietnamese said that they have another category of people that they're trying to win over and these are people who do not want to join either of these two fronts, people who are usually part of the Saigon administration or anti-Communist, but at the same time anti-American, at least in a sense that they understand that the U. S. has to get out because of the war; otherwise, it's leading to the destruction of Vietnam, or even to the fact that they've just sort of seen the light and sort of which way the cards have fallen and they understand that for their own survival if they don't hurry up and get over to the other side now, that it's going to be, you know, that they're going to be defeated. And nobody wants to be on the losing side.

Now, they have this third category which includes people who haven't joined organizationally in either of the alliances or the front but is sort of a, in an organizational category, but a category based on what people do. They say well we won't judge you by your past or what kind of things you've done in the past, but we'll judge you by what kinds of concrete deeds you do now in terms of aiding the liberation struggle. And this category is for people who have not joined the United Front of the Vietnamese People, have not joined the Provisional Revolutionary Government, but who stand on the side of it in terms of specific deeds that they do to further the liberation struggle.

Now in terms of what all that means, in terms of the outcome that will happen after the war, all elements, even the anti-Communist ones are within the Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces, have, and they're a minority group in there, have accepted the position of reunification and no element or strata within the front has given up on that.

In terms of, some people were, like some of the Americans ask questions, they're somewhat worried well, you know, and we talked to the People's Revolutionary Party people, they say well are you guys really, I mean does this weaken you, the fact that the front gets broader and broader. You know, and they point to the example of Algeria. They even thought the Algerians won it militarily from the French, that they are politically _____

(unintelligible) more reactionary kind of direction. And they said no, that the way they look at it, the harder the core the broader the front that you can form. And they say that we've got a very, very hard core and that the People's Revolutionary Party, you know, has wide acceptance among the people of Vietnam, that the head of their equivalent of the Department of Defense in the Provisional Revolutionary Government, is also the head of the People's Revolutionary Party. So that, you know, the armed forces are, at least, are led by the People's Revolutionary Party.

Another thing is that the broader the front becomes, it doesn't make them weaker but in fact makes them stronger. And that it's a principle alliance, that it's based on the fact that the work-peasant alliance is in the leadership of the, and that they maintain the principle reunification with the North.

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Well let me present the way the Vietnamese look at it. One thing that some of the Americans brought up in terms of different anti-war organizations is that they would say well, this group or that group is just anti-war. It's not anti-imperialist. And they would use that as a way of sort of saying that that thing is not important. The way the Vietnamese look at it, any demonstration that's organized in the United States that has a demand for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam, whether it is led by pacifists, liberals, radicals, revolutionaries, whatever, is objectively anti-imperialist demonstration, that it plays that kind of role. As far as, and I think that I'd probably share that perspective that at this point what is most needed is the broadest possible mass militant demonstrations are united around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. That is, you know, massive and _____ (unintelligible) tries to take the issue of the war to the working people of the country. Now I think that that's what we have to do in terms, that is foremost in terms of our responsibility and also would be most effective. At the same time my feeling at this point is that any demonstration from the Quaker Peace March, you know where they read the names of the war dead in Times Square, bound to the, you know, the militant kind of thing that the weatherman (next few words unintelligible) of SDS organized in Chicago in one sense or another plays an important role. Any demonstration against war as far as I'm concerned, is a good thing. Some are better than others. Does that answer your question?

Question: Yeah. (Rest unintelligible)

Answer: Well I have very strong critique of the weatherman thing. Maybe we should get into that in the panel on the Revolutionary Youth Movement. I think it's more than to alienate working people, I think it's an attack on working people. But we can get into that later.

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Well they work very much together. But at the same time, there is always a kind of deference between the two. In terms of protocol, they always in terms of talking that you always make a distinction between the representatives of the North and the representatives of the South. We do this all the time. In other words, you raise certain questions with the North Vietnamese that are about South Vietnam, and they always refer you to the South Vietnamese and vice versa. By the, you know, I mean there's no political differences between them, or no antagonisms between them of any sort that I could ever find. And they basically understand that Vietnam is one, that Vietnam is one country.

Question: Since Ho Chi Minh was enjoying considerable personal popularity even among non-Communists, what impact do you think his death will have on them?

Answer: I answered that for BURCHETTE (phonetic) back in January before HO CHI MINH died. He was in New York, and we asked him just a matter of speculation, that we understood that HO CHI MINH was getting kind of old, and he said that it wouldn't have any effect, that it would be a loss not only for Vietnamese people but for, you know, all liberation struggles, in the sense that HO CHI MINH is a great man, a great leader. But one of the things, qualities of HO CHI MINH that made him such a great man is that he understood throughout the struggle the necessity of collective leadership and held to that principle throughout the development of the struggle in Vietnam. The way BURCHETTE (Phonetic) put it, this is in the eyes of the Vietnamese, that there are a lot of other leaders, TRA CHINH (phonetic), LEE DONH (phonetic), PHA DAN DONG (phonetic) that enjoy a lot of respect in terms not only of

people of North Vietnam but also South Vietnam, and because of the fact that they Vietnamese have always operated on the principle of collective leadership that HO's death would not be a hindrance to the continuing struggle.

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Talked about it some. First of all, the Vietnamese do not consider the American prisoners to be prisoners of war and they did not consider them to be coming in the jurisdiction of any kind of international agreements. And that's because there has been no declaration of war on the part of the U. S. That's one thing. And they see it as mainly an act of criminal aggression and that these guys are simply criminals. It's just like if somebody came to your house and threw a fire bomb in it, or somebody walked into your back yard and started shooting up your kids. That's, you know, the way they look at these pirates. They don't see them as prisoners of war. They see them mainly as crimes against humanity.

Nonetheless, the Vietnamese say that they've, even the fact that they feel that they have every right to try these guards and even execute them, they have taken what they consider to be a humanitarian position in the way that the prisoners are treated and taken care of and expressed a great concern over the fact that some of the early prisoners that had been released have been either shut up by the U. S. military or in the case of one of them, he died. You know, that made _____ (unintelligible) a position that he had been killed by the military because he was a black guy and was going to speak out against war.

In terms of their attitude toward GI's in general, they have, in a way they're very saddened by the fact that they have to kill them. They understand that most of them are not over there as a matter of choice that they have been forced into a situation. They say that the morale of the U. S. troops is incredibly low, and they describe some battlefield teams where the guys just sort of sneaked out and _____ (unintelligible) just sort of paddle together and run away. They said sometimes that a bullet would go through three of them. And they've also

told us that several hundred GI's have gone over to their side and are now fighting on the side of the NLF. A few of them in the front lines, others working in the liberated areas developing propaganda. And there are also maybe about two or three hundred GI's that the Provisional Revolutionary Government, who deserted, that the Provisional Revolutionary Government has gotten to come to the side (next few words unintelligible). And they've gone through the _____ (unintelligible) in order to get out of the struggle. And they do a lot of work with U. S. troops.

I had a long discussion with a military guy from about the way they saw this. And they saw it as long range political work. They talk about they developed out their basic _____ (unintelligible), developed in study with them that a lot of the troops in the defense problem were colonial troops from other colonized countries. The kind of work that they would do among the French troops had a political purpose of trying to send these guys over so that when they went back to their respective countries that they would engage in the liberation struggle. And they do the same sort of work with the American GI's and have the same kind of long range international contraspective on the importance of that. They have GI coffee houses and stuff like that. In Saigon where they find the GI's and they work with them and explain to them what people's war is all about and what the struggle is all about. Sometimes they'll win a guy over. And they told us one story about one guy they won over who wanted to desert right then, but they convinced him to go back to his battalion, which was a tank battalion, to organize the rest of the guys, and they said that when he came back he brought thirty guys with him. And thirty of them as a unit signed over.

Question: Do you have any idea of how many casualties . . .
(rest unintelligible.)

Answer: Well, their casualty figures that the NLF gives is about two times the size of what the U. S. admits. There's no way, there's no way of judging, you know, what the real situation is.

Question: Unintelligible.

Answer: Well no, I said about, I said two times.

Question: Two times?

Answer: About two times, yeah.

Question: Shouldn't there be some way we could verify this?

Question: (from another individual in the audience) One form of verification is an individual who works, has the job, unloading returning _____ (unintelligible) to the New York airport, and he told me that, this was back about two years ago or three years ago, that there were times when there were more _____ (unintelligible) coming back to the New York City airport from Vietnam than the entire total of the Vietnam war dead. So that you know, he felt that the statistics that were being given out from Brooklyn were obviously inaccurate.

Answer: I guess the only you could really do it is like if you could computerize every local paper in the country where they like they announce the local guy who has been killed, and sort of add them all up and then compare with the Pentagon statistics, but I don't know anybody who's got the time or the energy to do that. That would probably be the only way I guess you could find out, but even then you might not be able to. On the part of the Vietnamese, they do not say how many people that they've lost. They make, they give no figures on that. Okay.

(The following speech was made by FRED BODE, UNC History Professor, on the subject of Imperialism.)

. . . the Vietnam War, for example, to one degree was another still shared. Certainly it's the view of most of the outstanding critics of U. S. foreign policy, say the United States Senate, Senator, former Senator WAYNE MORRIS for example, is _____ (unintelligible) calling the Vietnam war the result of the EISENHOWER-DULLIS foreign policy. It is clear that EISENHOWER

and DULLIS played considerable roles in our involvement in Vietnam. Senator MORRIS tends to overlook the fact that the EISENHOWER-DULLIS policy was grounded fundamentally on the containment policies that were developed during the TRUMAN administration. I think it is more or less the same view that is held by other articulate opponents of American policy in Vietnam and other parts of the third world. People like Senator FULLBRIGHT, people like Senator MC CARTHY.

I would argue on the other hand, that American policy in Vietnam, American policy in Latin America, American policy in the third world in general is not state, not aberration but are one that in theory and practice of American foreign policy since the Second World War. In addition, American policy since the Second World War, I would further argue, does not represent a considerable break from American tradition in the American cold war foreign policies since the Second World War, is too deeply rooted in the development of American imperialism which began at least as early as the 1890's.

The usual explanation for American policy after the Second World War runs something like this. This is the explanation that is usually given by the so-called realist school of American foreign policy experts. They'll say that before the Second World War the United States lived in a kind of naive isolation. It was preserved and protected from the rest of the world by vast oceans on either side of it. It was uninvolved in European affairs and world affairs, that essentially the United States was an innocent, that it believed itself somehow shielded and protected from the rest of the world. They go on to argue that the Second World War with the rise of Soviet power, American foreign policy somehow became more realistic. We realized that we were no longer isolated from the rest of the world. We realized that we had to play quote unquote a responsible role to the rest of the world, a responsible role in preserving the free world, and preserving world peace and protecting order and stability throughout the world.

Again I would argue that American foreign policy before the cold war was not isolationist, but that many of the crises of American policy since the Second World War were developed long

before. The difference in American post-war foreign policy, however, arises I think from this fact. The United States emerged clearly from the Second World War as the leading capitalist super-power. It was confronted at the same time by an increase in the powerful rival, the Soviet Union. This emergence of the United States as a super-power, as the leading undisputed capitalist power naturally had a profound impact on the practice of American policy, but this practice was in large part guided by premises that had already been developed.

Now, I mentioned American imperialism. What do we mean exactly by imperialism? Now, most people, I suppose, assume that imperialism involves the holding of some kind of formal empire, of colonies, of direct political control over areas and people outside of the metropolitan area of the people involved. This certainly is one of the traditional conceptions of imperialism. On this ground, based on this definition of imperialism, certainly the United States could not be classified as an imperialist power.

But imperialism, I would argue, is something more than the exercise of formal political control. It's something more than the type of imperialism, say, that was represented by the British Empire. Imperialism, it seems to me, implies a policy which attempts to create in other parts of the world a situation that is conducive to the interests, economic, political, and otherwise of the particular power involved. This does not necessarily have to mean direct political control.

Modern imperialism is something that developed toward the end of the last century, beginning about 1870, which involves a scramble for colonies among competing European powers ultimately culminating in the First World War. Now Britain, which acquired most of her formal political empire during this period, had already been an imperialist power before this time. However, before the latter part of the nineteenth century, with some exceptions, Britain practiced a kind of informal imperialism which in many ways is analogous to the kind of imperialism that the United States practices today. Some authorities have called this kind of imperialism Britain practiced in the nineteenth

century, free trade imperialism. Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, like the United States in the middle of the twentieth century, was the undisputed world power and undisputed leading capitalist power.

The tendency of thought in Britain during the mid-nineteenth century, the tendency that seemed to find most acceptance among British industrialists, among British capitalists, was that colonies were unnecessary. Formal political control was in most cases undesirable. Formal political control involved too many burdens in terms of administration, in terms of defense. But Britain, as the unrivaled world power, as the unrivaled economic giant, did not need colonies. Britain's national interests, Britain's economic interests could best be served through free trade, through informal kinds of control over other parts of the world. To be sure, there were colonial possessions of the British Empire at this time, for example, India. But for the most part, British possessions were confined to small islands, small naval bases in various parts of the world.

The tendency was for colonies that were settled largely by white Anglo-Saxons inhabitants to _____ (unintelligible) of government, something the United States, of course, achieved as the result of revolution, but something that was granted and deemed desirable in the cases of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, South Africa, and so on.

Now, imperialism began to change its character somewhat toward the end of the nineteenth century. The change in character of imperialism I think can be traced in large part to the relative decline of Great Britain as a capitalist power. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, British economic leadership was being challenged by the United States, by Germany, by Japan, and by other countries. These countries to a large degree developed a more defensive kind of policy. Unlike Britain, they established protective tariffs. They didn't establish free trade. Unlike Britain they believed that they had to have protective markets. Britain being challenged by late comers, was to a considerable degree was experiencing a change in its outlook. Britain as it

was being challenged by Germany, Japan, France, other countries, began to recognize the necessity to a certain degree of exercising more formal political control over certain parts of the world in order to maintain British _____ (unintelligible), in order to maintain British power in competition with her new rivals.

The scramble for colonies in Africa, for example, which did not begin until the late nineteenth century, can be interpreted in large part in terms of conquest among competing imperialist powers.

Now the American imperialist road pretended to de-emphasize the need for colonies, for formal territorial possessions. American imperialist theory, as I mentioned before, bore a striking resemblance to British policy in the early, in the mid-nineteenth century. Americans began to think, beginning in the 1880's and the 1890's, about the possibilities of an overseas expansion, perhaps a bit prematurely, as the result of various economic crises, as a result of the filling up of the American continent. It was widely believed in many circles that opportunity for economic expansion was decreasing in the United States itself, and again I would argue that this was probably a premature judgment at this time, but nevertheless people were beginning seriously to think about the necessity or the desirability of overseas expansion.

Now Americans who thought about the problem, people like Alfred J. Mahan (phonetic), the naval strategist, people like Theodore Roosevelt, tended to agree that formal territorial expansion beyond the North American continent was undesirable and unnecessary. The theory of expansion that they developed was one which would eventually envisage a stable world system of theoretically equal independence and competing states open to trade and open to investment. Their ideas reflected strong optimism about the competitive position of American capitalists. Many Americans during this period thought about problems of overseas expansion, were confident that in many cases American capital would be able to compete successfully on equal terms with capital of other countries.

Already, however, at this time American policy makers were beginning to regard Latin America, at least, as a kind of

special case. While there was never any serious consideration about acquiring formal territorial possessions in Latin America to any significant extent, nonetheless Americans tended to regard, American policy makers, tended to regard Latin America as a kind of special American preserve in which other powers would have to follow the American lead. Now mind you, this was already at a time when the United States in relation, say, to Great Britain, had an almost _____ (unintelligible) economic interest in Latin America at a time when American trade, for example, was much less than British trade with Latin America. There was a sense, however, on the part of American policy makers that unless the United States did something, that Latin America would be closed to American economic expansion.

In 1895, for example, the democratic Secretary of State, RICHARD OLNEY (phonetic), stated "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and to _____ (unintelligible) law open the subjects to which it confines it into position. Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is because in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all powers.

This kind exclusivistic thinking was not typical of American policy, however, in most other parts of the world. WOODROW WILSON, for example, probably became closer than any other American President in this period to defining the kinds of world situation which was deemed desirable in terms of American interests. One historian of Wilsonian foreign policy has termed WILSON's views liberal capitalist internationalist.

WILSON, it seems, envisaged the world in a kind of _____ (unintelligible) state of nature, in which there were a lot of competing countries without any sense of order in the system as a whole. WOODROW WILSON believed, in line with classical liberal thinking, that orderly competition was desirable, that orderly competition would somehow lead to the benefit of all, but particularly the United States. Of course, it was quite clear in WILSON's mind that the United States and

other large industrialized powers competing in the world, particularly in the underdeveloped world, would obviously be in a much stronger position than weaker states. WILSON strongly reacted to any kind of closed system in the world.

He opposed on one hand traditional imperialism, that is colonialism. He believed, for example, that Germany represented old fashioned, what he calls exclusivistic (phonetic) imperialism, in its most dangerous form. On the other hand, WILSON also opposed threats to an open world system from the left, the Russian Revolution, you may recall, occurred in 1917 during WOODROW WILSON's administration, during the First World War, and it became very quickly apparent to WILSON that the Russian Revolution seemed to pose the same kind of threat to his open world system, competing liberal capitalist states, that the traditional imperialism of European powers and particularly in WILSON's mind, Germany, seemed to pose.

WILSON's conception of a League of Nations cannot be isolated from WILSON's conception of liberal capitalist internationalism. The League of Nations in WILSON's view was supposed to rescue the world from the kind of state of nature that it was operating in and kind of compose a nice liberal lock-in system where everyone could compete with each other under the umbrella of law and order and with the assurance of world stability. The League of Nations, in WILSON's mind, was directed as much against old fashioned exclusivistic colonialist imperialism as it was against the kind of threat to capitalist expansion that WILSON saw in the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Now WILSON's plan for a League of Nations was also somewhat premature. For a variety of reasons the League of Nations failed. For a variety of reasons the kind of world system that WILSON envisaged was not established.

It was not until the Second World War that this kind of system ultimately was imposed on much of the world by United States policy. As I've already mentioned, following the Second World War, American _____ (unintelligible) among capitalist nations were sure. At the same time the United States and world capitalism were confronting the increased power of the Soviet Union and the increasing threat of Socialist Revolution.

The United Nations was in large part designed to preserve the kind of world stability that the League of Nations was supposed to preserve, stable regimes friendly to capitalist development. It was clear, however, from the very beginning that the United Nations by itself could not fulfill this considerable role. And in large part, the United States had pursued a policy of achieving stability, of achieving favorable conditions for economic expansion for world capitalism outside the United Nations.

The Marshall Plan, for example, following the Second World War was not conceived in terms of a noble gesture to help our European friends. It was conceived in terms of protecting western European capitalism from the threat of Socialists. It was sold to the American business community with the argument that a healthy capitalist Europe was essential to a healthy capitalist America. The United States also proceeded with a system of alliances.

Shortly after World War II, containment became official American policy. Containment was rationalized in terms of defending free world against aggressive Soviet imperialism. In fact, containment was designed to preserve a world system favorable to the interests and favorable to the prosperity of the United States.

In addition to the system of alliances, the United States has actively supported counter-revolutionary activities where and wherever revolutionary activities toward national liberation, Vietnam, Latin America, elsewhere, have threatened to upset the kind of world system, the kind of world stability that the United States desires.

Law and order is not just a domestic issue, but in terms of American foreign policy plan, it is currently a world issue. As HUBERT HUMPHREY remarked in 1966, "The day that this nation does not honor its commitments in Vietnam and elsewhere, it is on that day that the whole fabric of international law and order is torn apart and breaks down."

I think at this point, I'll stop. I've probably gone on too long already. I had intended to talk a bit about the very close connection between American economic expansion since the

Second World War overseas and American economic expansion has proceeded since the Second World War at a tremendous rate. American overseas investment is proceeding at a much faster rate than American domestic investment, the relationship between this and American foreign policy since the Second World War. I really don't have time, I don't think, to talk further about that. However, I would recommend a book which goes into this question in some detail by HARRY MAGAW (phonetic), which is called "The Age of Imperialism and Economics in U. S. Foreign Policy," which gives a little background material on American imperialism but is primarily concerned as I said with outlining the close inner connection between American economics expansion between the Second World War and American foreign policy. I think at this point I'll turn it over to _____ (unintelligible).

(The following speech was made by LARRY KESSLER, UNC professor, on the topic of Imperialism.)

Something that FRED talked about _____ (unintelligible) imperialism both American and otherwise. My first thought is that as "a rose by any other name would smell just as sweet," so imperialism by any other name stinks just as badly. And yet for most of the century now, Americans have been describing their imperialism abroad, their basic expansionism abroad, it seems to me that that is the character of the American system, they've been describing this in terms, in all sorts of terms other than imperialism.

For instance, we called it manifest destiny. That is somehow we were ordained by God to carry our civilization to the rest of the world, sort of an updated "white man's burden."

We've called it anti-colonialism. This is how many of the political and business leaders of America at the turn of the century justified our expansion into the Philippines. This was used as a sort of stepping stone for China and to save China from being a colony of some of the other western powers. So our imperialism was anti-colonialism.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

We have called it making the world safe for democracy, a fine phrase. Or keeping, or saving the free world, defending the free world. We have more recently called it anti-Communism. This has justified most of our expansion into Asia in the post-World War II era.

So we've called it by all sorts of names and probably the one, the one _____ (unintelligible) that has been the most persistent in our attempt to hide the facts of our expansionism was the phrase popularized at the turn of the century but actually in currency earlier, as the "open door policy." We were somehow opening all the doors, were keeping all the doors of the world open except in our own back yard, of course, where we had the Monroe Doctrine, which closed all the doors of the people. But in other parts of the world where we couldn't because of our military posture there, we couldn't carve out for ourselves a particular sphere of influence like some of the other western nations. Then we were urging upon these nations the open door policy, which was a fairly successful policy considering it was based on policies, the position that we had militarily in that area. And this, this particular phrase, the open door, amazingly persists.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Attached as appendices to this memorandum are characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Students For a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, and Southern Student Organizing Committee.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of open and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which reads in the following:

"Black men! Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klosky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" shows the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

A source advised on May 15, 1969, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) maintains its national headquarters at 41 Union Square West, New York, New York, and has as its official publication the "Young Socialist." The YSA is the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and has been described by the SWP as the main recruiting ground for the SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

The "Daily Tar Heel," student newspaper published at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 7, 1968, published an article stating that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) would hold its first organizational meeting on November 7, 1968, at the University of North Carolina.

On February 20, 1969, a source advised the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee meeting on February 4, 1969, at New York City, approved the creation of a local Young Socialist Alliance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

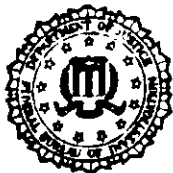
On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern Student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source Two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas H. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Welch, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes", and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the mast-head described the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
November 3, 1969

Title	COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
Reference	Memorandum made at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FBI

Date: 11/18/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

██████████ (SF T-16), a highly confidential source advised as follows on 11/17/69.

100-8-75
An individual named ██████████ from Charlotte, North Carolina, where he had telephone numbers 704-██████████ and 704-██████████ contacted BPP Headquarters on that date. ██████████ stated that his father was "the all American Negro" and had objected to his receiving copies of "The Black Panther" newspaper to distribute. ██████████ therefore told Headquarters that he had to cancel the newspaper orders.

██████████ then went on to relate that an individual named RHODA SAWALA (phonetic) had been killed the past week during a street brawl. ██████████ called RHODA, an Agent Provocateur. ██████████ said that the "Pigs" were printing it up in the newspaper as if the BPP had been responsible for the killing. SAWALA was also according to ██████████ "supposed to be one of those so-called Panthers". ██████████ also said that the person who had been responsible for this act had turned himself in to the Police.

REC-23

105-165706-8-109

- ② Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8) (RM)
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)
2 - San Francisco (157-2861)
(1 - 157-1581)
(PUBLICATIONS)

WAC:ajz
(7)

4 NOV 20 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

58 DEC 1 1969

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

LF 157-2861
WAC:ajz

The above material is furnished to the
Charlotte Office to indicate the activity as expressed
by [REDACTED] by persons sympathetic to the BPP.

F B I

Date: 11/10/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RM

Re Charlotte teletype to Bureau dated 11/10/69,
 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 2 xerox copies each of
 the following items mentioned in referenced teletype:

1. Complaint and Motion for Temporary Restraining Order and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Petition for appointment of next of friend, and Summons in case entitled, "BEN CHAVIS, et al, Plaintiffs, VS J. C. GOODMAN, JR., et al, Defendants, filed 6/6/69.
2. Answer to the complaint and Motion for Temporary Restraining Order.
3. Motion for Permission to Serve Supplemental Pleading.
4. Answer to Supplemental Complaint.
5. Interrogatories to Parties filed 9/26/69, WDNC, Charlotte, N. C.
6. Answers to Interrogatories
7. Deposition of SA L. DEAN PAARMANN dated 11/10/69, denying participation in an incident involving 2 plaintiffs and 2 other defendants.
8. Deposition of SA L. DEAN PAARMANN dated 11/10/69, denying participation in incident alleged to have occurred on 7/14/69.

REC-73

105-165706-8-108

ST-118

10 NOV 12 1969

(2-Bureau (Encs. 16)
 2-Charlotte

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
 LDP:cbw (JSD)
 (4) Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

It is noted that the Charlotte file does not reflect the fact that the Bureau had already been afforded copies of the original civil suit filed 6/6/69, even though the Bureau has been made aware of the existence of this suit.

Charlotte will follow closely the proceedings in this matter with the USA's Office in Charlotte and will keep the Bureau advised.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 11/13/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source, advised as follows on 11/10/69:

[REDACTED] from Raleigh, N.C., contacted BPP National Headquarters, at Berkeley, Calif., on this date. [REDACTED] said that he had dropped out of Shaw College because he found that he could do more work outside of school than in it.

[REDACTED] said he wanted to start a chapter of the BPP in Raleigh and would like some information.

Party Headquarters [REDACTED] said that the Panthers were not starting any new chapters at this time but were forming groups that functioned along with the Panthers under the title of the United Front Against Fascism.

[REDACTED] at the time of the conversation, mentioned that she was one of the [REDACTED] " who was now working at the West Coast Headquarters.

- ② - Bureau
- 4 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- 4 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION) (1 - 157-4294) (NCCF)
 - (1 - [REDACTED])

WAC/pae

(10)

REC 45

105-165706-8-107

NOV 14 1969

DEC 1 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 157-2861
WAC/pae

Toward the end of the conversation [REDACTED] said that LARRY LITTLE was working around Headquarters at this time having come out from Winston-Salem, N.C. She suggested that the two get together at sometime in the future.

The above material is furnished to the Charlotte Office to indicate the continued activity on behalf of the BPP in that area.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

 1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

 105-165706-8-106

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/10/69

SA Paarmann of the Charlotte Office has been named as a codefendant in a civil complaint in Charlotte filed by the attorney for several individuals affiliated with the Black Panther Party in connection with their arrests and search of residence of one. SA Paarmann played no role in this matter. We have previously brought this to the attention of the Department.

We concur with the proposed action by Charlotte in filing of an interrogatory and upon receipt of copies of this interrogatory will furnish same to the Department.

TDR:bjr

See [unclear] b
✓
OPS

105-165706-8-104

FBI WASH DC

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FBI

NOV 10 1969

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

FBI CHARLT

1220PM URGENT 11-10-69 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 4P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY. -RM. *RECEIVED*

RE CHARLOTTE AIRTELS TO BUREAU MAY TWENTY-NINE AND
AUGUST FIVE, SIXTY-NINE.

ON MAY TWENTY-EIGHT, SIXTY-NINE, LOCAL CHARLOTTE ACLU
ATTORNEY GEORGE S. DALY CONTACTED THE CHARLOTTE OFFICE STATING
HE REPRESENTED MICHAEL GRANT LANEY AND JAMES COVINGTON WHO
WERE RECENTLY ARRESTED AT THEIR RESIDENCE, THREE ONE SIX SOUTH
TURNER ST., CHARLOTTE, N. C. AS A RESULT OF INTERVIEWING HIS
CLIENTS, DALY STATED HE WAS LODGING A COMPLAINT CONCERNING
ILLEGAL SEARCH OF THE RESIDENCE BY THE FBI AND THE FBI'S
CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE OF THIS RESIDENCE. DURING THIS
TELEPHONE CALL, DALY WAS ADVISED THAT THOSE ARRESTS WERE NOT
MADE BY FBI AGENTS BUT BY AGENTS OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND
FIREARMS SECTION OF THE TREASURY DEPT., ALONG WITH LOCAL
POLICE. DALY WOULD NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THIS FACT AS AN ANSWER
AND ADVISED HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY HIS CLIENTS THAT FBI AGENT
END PAGE ONE

REPROX

NOV 1969

NOV 14 1969

PAGE TWO

DEAN PAARMANN HAD BEEN A MEMBER OF THE RAID, ALONG WITH FORTY OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS. DALY ADDED THAT WITHIN THE NEAR FUTURE, IT WAS HIS INTENTION TO GO INTO USDC AT CHARLOTTE AND OBTAIN A TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS FROM HARASSING HIS CLIENTS.

REFERENCED AIRTEL DATED MAY TWENTY-NINE, SIXTY-NINE, ATTACHED AN AFFIDAVIT OF SA L. DEAN PAARMANN CONCERNING THE ALLEGATIONS MADE BY DALY. THE ARRESTS OF COVINGTON AND LANEY WERE MADE AT APPROXIMATELY FIVE P.M. ON MAY TWENTY-SEVEN, SIXTY-NINE.

ON JUNE SIX, SIXTY-NINE, ATTORNEY GEORGE S. DALY FILED A SUIT IN USDC, CHARLOTTE, N. C., ON BEHALF OF SEVENTEEN INDIVIDUALS AGAINST J. C. GOODMAN, JR., CHIEF OF CHARLOTTE, N. C., PD; L. A. KELLY, JR., CHIEF OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY, N. C., PD; TOGETHER WITH VARIOUS OFFICERS UNDER THEIR COMMAND; A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE NCSBI, A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE ALCOHOL TOBACCO AND FIREARMS DIVISION OF THE U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT, AND DEAN PAARMANN, SA OF THE FBI, IN USDC, WHEREIN THE PLAINTIFFS ALLEGE SEVERAL ACTS OF ILLEGAL SEARCH DURING EFFORTS TO LOCATE A LOCAL INDIVIDUAL WANTED ON ARMED

END PAGE TWO

CE 157-6171

PAGE THREE

ROBBERY CHARGES BY THE CHARLOTTE PD.

ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY-SIX, SIXTY-NINE, ATTORNEY DALY FILED IN USDC, CHARLOTTE, N. C., AN INTERROGATORY REQUESTING THAT NINETY-EIGHT QUESTIONS BE ANSWERED. SA L. DEAN PAARMANN IS REQUESTED TO ANSWER STATEMENTS CONCERNING HIS EMPLOYMENT WITH THE FBI AND OTHER PERSONAL QUESTIONS SUCH AS HOME ADDRESS, INSURANCE POLICIES, AND EDUCATION.

DUE TO INADVERTENCY BY USA'S OFFICE, ASHEVILLE, N. C.,
OBJECTION BY GOVERNMENT WAS NOT FILED AND USA, ^{ASHEVILLE} ASHEVILLE, N. C., ADVISED THAT THESE INTERROGATORIES MUST BE FILED NOVEMBER TEN, SIXTY-NINE.

IN ADDITION, USA REQUESTED ADDITIONAL AFFIDAVITS BY SA L. DEAN PAARMANN ADVISING PAARMANN TOOK NO PART IN ACTIVITY MENTIONED IN ORIGINAL SUIT ON MAY TWENTY-FOUR, SIXTY-NINE AND IN SUPPLEMENTAL COMPLAINT CONCERNING ALLEGATIONS ON JULY FOURTEEN, SIXTY-NINE.

ANSWERS TO INTERROGATORIES ARE BEING MADE WITH ASSISTANCE OF USA'S OFFICE. ALL OTHER INQUIRIES ARE BEING POINTED OUT AS NOT APPLICABLE OR ARE MATTERS WHICH CANNOT BE

END PAGE THREE

CE 157-G171

PAGE FOUR

INQUIRED INTO. THESE WILL BE FURNISHED TO USA'S OFFICE TODAY
UACB IN THAT NO EMBARRASSMENT TO THE BUREAU NOR PROBLEMS CAN
BE FORESEEN IN ANSWERING THE INTERROGATORIES CONCERNING
IDENTITY ONLY. SA PAARMANN IS ALSO DENYING ANY PARTICIPATION
IN THE ARRESTS.

COPIES WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU UNDER SEPARATE COVER.

END.

WJM

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. SULLIVAN

F B I

Date: 11/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on November 4, 1969.

[REDACTED] (LNU) of the [REDACTED] contacted BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California, from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, telephone number [REDACTED], speaking with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] he is doing a story on the local BPP (Winston-Salem) and inquired about their relationship to the National Party. He also inquired about one [REDACTED] and his party affiliations. He was informed by [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] used to be a Field Lieutenant, but had been expelled from the party. [REDACTED] further informed the caller that the Winston-Salem people were members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, which was formed out of the United Front Against Fascism, and they are not registered members of the BPP, but do act as an organizing arm of the party. [REDACTED] wanted to know if any party officer ever came to Winston-Salem, North Carolina to check on what is being done by the people there and [REDACTED] stated he would rather not answer that question.

- 2 - Bureau
2 - Charlotte
 (1 - 157-6171) (BPP CHARLOTTE)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
2 - Chicago
 (1 - 157-1291) (BPP CHICAGO)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
2 - Columbia
 (1 - 157-BPP COLUMBIA)

REC-78

105-165706-8-105

11 NOV 8 1969

(CONT. PAGE 2)

Approved: _____

Sent _____

51 NOV 20 1969 Special Agent in Charge

RALPH W. [REDACTED]

SF 157-2861
JAC:ajz

According to source, [REDACTED] also asked about other BPP Chapters in the Carolinas and [REDACTED] advised him that there are none and Winston-Salem is the only Office they relate to. [REDACTED] wanted to know if the Winston-Salem Office had a charter and [REDACTED] told him no and that HUEY P. NEWTON had passed down orders that there are no new chapters being formed.

The above information is furnished to assist Charlotte in coverage of activities of the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and for the information of Columbia in view of [REDACTED] comment that Winston-Salem, North Carolina is the only office in the Carolinas to which the BPP relates.

For the additional information of Charlotte, it would appear that the individual referred to as [REDACTED] is probably identical with [REDACTED] a Field Lieutenant from Chicago, who was in North Carolina in the past. It would appear from [REDACTED] comments that [REDACTED] has now been expelled from the BPP for some reason, although, information received from Chicago as current as October 28, 1969, indicated that LEE was then active in the BPP.

Chicago should advise the Bureau, San Francisco and other interested Offices whether or not [REDACTED] has been expelled from the BPP as indicated by [REDACTED]

-
- 7 - San Francisco
 (1 - 157-2861) (CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
 (1 - 157-4123) (PUBLICITY)
 (1 - 157-3660) (EXPULSION)
 (1 - 157-4294) (NCCF)
 (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 157-1641) (MEMBERSHIP)
 (1 - 157-2958) (BPP COLUMBIA)

JAC:ajz
(15)

FBI

Date: 11/5/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on November 4, 1969.

An unknown woman calling from Winston-Salem, North Carolina contacted the San Francisco Office of the BPP advising that a brother by the name of LARRY LITTLE would be arriving in San Francisco at 7:23 p.m. on Delta Airlines, flight number 21. She advised that he would be wearing a purple leather jacket and carrying a small blue suitcase.

In a subsequent item, this source advised that an individual by the name of [REDACTED] (phonetic) contacted [REDACTED] at the Distribution Office of "The Black Panther" at San Francisco BPP Headquarters, informing her that he cannot even give the papers away in Charlotte, North Carolina. He said he is the only one he knows he can trust and he wants to talk to the brother (believed to be SAM NAPIER, Circulation

- ② - Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8) (RM)
3 - Charlotte
(1 - 157-6171) (BPP CHARLOTTE)
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-2861) (BPP CHARLOTTE)
(1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)

JAC:ajz
(7)

REG-123

ST-118 105-165706-8-103

17 NOV 7 1969

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

5. 105-165706-8-103

SF 157-2861
JAC:ajz

Manager) for some help. [REDACTED] further informed that he found some of the papers he had given away in the sewer pipes the next day. He said that some of the "niggers" here say he is a Communist and the paper is a Communist paper.

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on November 4, 1969.

[REDACTED] was advised that a LARRY LITTLE from Winston-Salem, North Carolina had arrived in Oakland, California and was now at Headquarters in Berkeley having been brought there by [REDACTED] of San Francisco.

According to source, [REDACTED] stated that he did not ask for LITTLE to come into San Francisco and he wanted to know why he was here, and spoke with [REDACTED] regarding this and was informed by [REDACTED] that LITTLE was here to talk with them about starting a chapter in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] advised he was too busy with the paper and they would have to put LITTLE up for the night and he would try to talk to him tomorrow.

The above is furnished for the information of Charlotte in coverage of BPP activities in that area. Efforts should be made to fully identify both LARRY LITTLE and [REDACTED]

San Francisco will furnish any additional information received from sources relative to LITTLE'S visit to National Headquarters and the results thereof. It is noted that at the present time BPP officials have continuously indicated that no new BPP Chapters are being organized, but that National Committees to Combat Fascism (NCCF) are being organized at various locations to carry on various activities of the BPP.

F B I

Date: 10/30/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE [REDACTED] (e)

SUBJECT: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, aka. "Duck"
RM-BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM regarding captioned matter, copies of which have been disseminated locally to Military Intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

Contact with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was by SA [REDACTED]

Contact with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was by SA [REDACTED]

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS OF AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE THE LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)

1-Charlotte

FJB:gjc

(3)

AGENCY:

AD ATT: IDIU

ALST See Ser. 11/6/69

LOW

BI:

REC-87

105-165706-8-102

17 NOV 5 1969

RECEIVED INT. SECT.

Approved: 54 NOV 18 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
October 30, 1969

JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS,
ALSO KNOWN AS "DUCK"
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

In June, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that
JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, 509 North Poplar Street, was a member
of the Black Panther Party in Charlotte, North Carolina.

On June 6, 1969, a complaint and motion for temporary
restraining order and motion for preliminary injunction was
filed in United States District Court by GEORGE DALEY, Attorney,
representing JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS and others against certain
Federal, State, and local officers. The suit filed described
the plaintiffs as Negroes and residents of Mecklenburg County,
North Carolina, and a voluntary congregation of individuals
who were....actively preparing themselves for membership in
the Black Panther Party.

On June 25, 1969, [REDACTED] further
advised that JOHNNY DOUGLAS, also known as "Duck," had,
according to [REDACTED] attended a political education
meeting of the Black Panther Party [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] meeting of the Black Panther Party
on [REDACTED] 1969, at same address. At this meeting, one of the
members said that in his opinion terrorist tactics should
always be used first, and there was a discussion about male
members obtaining "Bore" rifles. He continued that at the meeting
held on [REDACTED] 1969, that [REDACTED] stated that any
guns purchased could easily be traced back to them, and that
they should not buy any rifles closer than 50 miles distance.
A member discussed a plan where the Black Panther Party would
provoke a riot on July 30, 1969, but this plan was voted down.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

100-111111-1
ENCLOSURE

RE: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS

[REDACTED] advised that a public rally of the Afro-American Unity Organization was held in Charlotte, North Carolina, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on June 25, 1969, identified JOHNNY DOUGLAS as being in attendance at the rally.

On July 16, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the Black Panther Party in Charlotte had been split into two separate units, and JOHNNY DOUGLAS was identified with the Area Number One group.

[REDACTED] advised in [REDACTED] 1969, that a political education meeting was held [REDACTED] 1969, by the Afro-American Unity Organization, the local Black Panther Party group, and JOHNNY DOUGLAS was in attendance. [REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] 1969, that at a meeting of the Afro-American Unity Organization, the local Black Panther Party, who were attempting to affiliate with the National Black Panther Party, had nominated JOHNNY DOUGLAS as "Minister of Information and Education" on [REDACTED] 1969, but he was not elected to this office.

On July 22, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that JOHNNY DOUGLAS had been elected "Deputy Minister of Information" for the Area Number One group of the Black Panther Party. He continued that DOUGLAS staffs a day care center organized by the Black Panther Party, who care for neighborhood youngsters in their area.

The Charlotte Observer, a local daily newspaper, under date August 4, 1969, listed JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, age 18, as among a group of Black Panthers who were arrested in a shoot-out. The paper continued that the group was charged after shots were fired at a group of teenagers.

On August 19, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that after another altercation where the Panthers engaged in

RE: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS

an argument with the operator of a local drive-in restaurant, JOHNNY DOUGLAS, with others, went to the Black Panther Party headquarters where they obtained weapons and black uniforms. They returned to restaurant and engaged in shoot-out with owner and his son. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a number of shotguns, which the Black Panthers have hidden as part of their arsenal of weapons.

On September 8, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that as of [REDACTED] 1969, JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS was listed as Area Captain for Area One of the Afro-American Unity Organization, the Potential Black Panther Party, in Charlotte, North Carolina.

On October 3, 1969, Judge CLIFTON JOHNSON, District Court Number One, Charlotte, North Carolina, issued a capias for JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, who did not appear for trial on the charge of "Going Armed to the Terror of the People." Those Panthers who did appear were convicted and sentenced to active jail terms.

On July 1, 1969 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] all advised they could locate no record for JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS.

[REDACTED] advised on October 8, 1969, that the Afro-American Unity Organization, with the arrest and conviction of most of its leaders, had completely disbanded and stated this organization no longer existed.

JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS' location is not known.

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of the Black Panther Party.

RE: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING
ALL ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS OF AND
ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS
THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE
THE LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL
FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF
ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BLACK
PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES ARE
CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves and fight the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "We will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
October 30, 1969

Title	JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, ALSO KNOWN AS "DUCK"
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.